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On the Question of Arming the People.

Old German artisans can still remember the GUILDS ("Zusafte") which lasted from the middle ages far into the Nineteenth century. In the industries of old they had a similar position to that held by the labor unions in modern industries, with this essential difference, however, that in those days the employers (masters) were members of the UNIONS, and indeed completely controlled them. This disadvantage was offset by the fact that in those days every ordinary journeyman had an opportunity to become a master himself, for the tools were then primitive and cheap. An opposite interest between master and journeyman did not make itself felt strongly until the beginning of the modern era.

The guilds played a great role in the medieval cities of Europe. Every one who knows history is aware of the fierce fights they waged in Germany, England, Italy, France and Brabant. The guilds not only defended the cities against the knights, princes and bishops; in the latter part of the middle ages they also fought bloody battles against the patricians and merchants in the cities themselves. All the privileges and liberties of the lower middle classes in Europe before the French revolution were the result of these battles. Although the battles themselves generally ended in the defeat of the common people, yet for fear of new uprisings the ruling class in the cities—the patricians—usually granted afterwards of their own accord what they had refused before with force of arms. Of course, the complete emancipation of the city population was only effected by the two great revolutions, the English in the Seventeenth century, and the French in the Eighteenth century.

At any rate, the crafts, guilds and companies, in spite of all the grotesque and barbaric machinery connected with them, rendered great service to mankind during the Middle Ages and saved the masses of the people from enslavement. For what they gained was afterwards a benefit to the peasantry also, who in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries flocked to the cities in great numbers.

With the hand-industries the crafts and guilds of course disappeared; in their place have arisen the labor unions. England was the first country in which large industries worked with machinery developed to any extent, and there first the labor unions became numerous and powerful.

But the influence which the crafts, companies and guilds wielded in their time is not possessed by the labor unions of the present day, neither in England nor any other country.

In the number of their members, the unions are indeed incomparably stronger than the guilds ever were, but the POWER of our modern labor organizations is incomparably smaller than the power of the labor organizations in the Middle Ages.

What is the cause of this strange contradiction?

The reason lies close at hand. In the struggle for existence, people only respect what they fear. This law holds just as good today as it did a thousand years ago.

The medieval guilds were respected because they were COMBATANTS. They were armed. The modern labor unions are despised and scorned because they are NON-COMBATANTS. They are unarmed.

Do not misunderstand us. We know right well that the "SOCIAL QUESTION" can no more be solved by street riots and insurrections, than by bombs and dynamite. Yet, by the ballot ALONE, it will also scarcely ever be solved.

Up to this time, men have always solved great questions by BLOOD and IRON.

Every sensible man will admit, however, that in our country the ballot-box may contribute more to the solution of the problem than any other means, because the ballot can put in our hands the necessary power to solve the question either one way or the other.

But it is not easy to manage a ballot in this country; indeed, it is not easy in any country. It requires considerably more personal intelligence to handle a ballot rightly than to handle a shotgun. Even ignorant men handle a shotgun carefully, but not a ballot. And, therefore, in this country far more mischief has been done by ballots than by bullets. At any rate, workmen whose standard of life has sunk lowest understand least how to handle a ballot. Moreover, they are least accessible to education and enlightenment.

And what is worse, the workmen who have sunk the lowest are bought up the easiest. They furnish the capitalists not only with VOTING CATTLE, but also with Pinkertons and deputy sheriffs and soldiers.

For example, in the state of Pennsylvania live the most enslaved workmen of the present America. But it is just there, in spite of the experiences of Homestead and Hazelton, of steelworker strikes and miners' strikes, that the Republicans get their largest majorities. These men who were knocked down like rabbits by the coal-tarries of the steel trust voted Republican last November and for beer, cigars, fine words and free lunches, will vote the Republican ticket again next fall, if their lives are spared. Only if God should come to worse and votes come high, they will so vote that in the coming year they will no longer be shot by Republican deputy sheriffs, but by Democratic deputy sheriffs instead.

The standard of life of these poor wage-slaves has sunk so low that it goes without saying they can make no intelligent use of the ballot. From men who like the Pennsylvania miners earn a dollar a day on an average when times are good, no sensible political action can be expected as a rule. And the worst is, their children are degenerating to a still lower condition.

Similar conditions prevail in other states.

There is no soil among such workers for a campaign of education and enlightenment.

If such conditions should become universal in our country, and the tendency of the times is to make them universal, then our civilization at some future day will meet a fearful end. The horde of hungry slaves will become ever larger and more ignorant. When that heated kettle of poison boils over some day and empties its hellish contents, when the hunted millions turn around and fall upon their masters and their families—then not only our pseudo-culture, but probably all culture, will be destroyed for a thousand years to come.

A further lowering of the standard of living of the working people must therefore be prevented at any cost, in the interests of Humanity.

But the great question is, how to accomplish it?

How?

Of that more in our next issue.

Remember, we do not believe that we the socialist principle even when we can jump from the capitalistic system into the Co-operative Commonwealth over night. Yet, we want to WASTE NO TIME on palliatives or patches or extensions of the PRESENT system. We want SOCIAL REFORMS that proceed to a CHANGE OF BASE at once. There is the cardinal point in which we differ from capitalistic reforms.

We do not believe in force, unless cornered. But in case one is compelled to fight for his freedom, one should be prepared for the emergency. We think every proletarian owes it to his cause, his family and himself to quit drinking and smoking and to acquire a well-selected little library and a good magazine shotgun. Yes, books and guns. And a free man ought to learn how to use them both. The library in times of peace, the gun in case of war. Yet, no man who uses intoxicants in any form is to be trusted with a gun, and our advice would only hold good to abstainers.

The Social Democratic Herald readily admits that the majority of the rank and file of all the political parties are honest and to the Social Democratic Herald a man who votes the Republican or Democratic ticket is not so 'pon a rascal or a fool. All we claim is that the man has in most cases not heard the other side, or at least has not heard it explained right. Besides, a man may be averse to

that would please the monopoly, which has no more love for its tools than we have. Oh, no—we are after bigger game. We are after the monopoly itself. And the monopoly is spreading its money in vain. Monopoly is dying. The era of the people is at hand. Do you suppose that any contract made last year will be binding for the twenty-five years in the future? If it did, the next generation would have to be made up of even bigger tools than we are. The next generation will laugh at such contracts. One generation can bind the other only when its own children are imbeciles. That our children will not be.

In truth, all social wealth is the creature of CO-OPERATIVE LABOR. Labor could effect no noticeable improvement in human conditions were the effort made in personal isolation and disjoined from the product of the labors of the past and the anticipated future. The only question practically arising is one of division and ownership. Shall the division of braia and braava, of the past, present and future production of wealth be made by a ratio of dead, of work performed, or by rule of birth, inheritance, of money and usurped privilege? Every man and woman in the land should choose sides on this question.

A New York Socialistic paper has been excluded from the mails as second-class matter and hence practically suppressed, by the order of the third assistant postmaster general, on the ground that "it advertised his (the editor's) ideas too much." Well, if things have come to that pass, that an editor cannot "advertise his ideas," there will be mighty few of us left, after a little. Some of the brethren, however, will be perfectly safe, but we wouldn't like to mention their names for fear of creating hard feelings. —Appleton Post (Rep.).

The biggest wood-working plant in the state of California has been erected by the unions of San Francisco and is now turning out material as fast as 2000 union carpenters can place it on the buildings in San Francisco and Oakland. It gives employment to 1800 union mill men. And while these things do not help "to solve the social question," they ought to be encouraged because they show that while capital is necessary, the capitalist is superfluous.

A New Municipal Issue.

Eureka! Finally in Milwaukee our small shopkeepers and ditto business men who would like to become millionaires, may have a brand new issue in the next municipal campaign, and that will be of the greatest interest to large classes of our population. But alas! as usual the interests of the different groups of these men of business are not identical, in fact, they are antagonistic.

And this is the way the affair stands:

About this time of the year—i. e., between Thanksgiving and Christmas—most of the small printing shops in the outlying districts of the city are busy in rushing out handbills for saloonkeepers announcing turkey and poultry raffles, and in almost every saloon there is a row of these announcements pinned to the wall telling the reader that at this, that or the other saloon the opportunity to win a fowl or two will be afforded on some certain night.

But another set of business men of Milwaukee look with envy upon this hit of enterprise on the part of the saloonkeepers. The retail butchers know by experience that the saloonkeepers buy their turkeys, geese, chickens, etc., wholesale, thus not only robbing the retail butchers of the profit due to the middle man but also robbing them of their customers.

Therefore the members of the Retail Merchants' Association are clamoring for an enforcement of the law against gambling so far as it reaches these raffling saloons, and claim that the district attorney has recently decided them contrary to law.

But Chief Janssen of the police force says that the district attorney gave him no opinion on the subject. The chief known that it was not the butchers that made Milwaukee famous" and refused to have anything to do with the matter. "I know nothing about the turkey raffles. I do not know that there are any going on at the present time," said he.

But the meat men declare that they will not let the matter drop.

The thing is up to the mayor now, and probably even the Minister's Association, that is just now looking after vice in Milwaukee, may take a hand in the fight.

So we should not be surprised a bit if this war on turkey should develop to be one of the issues of the capitalistic parties in the Milwaukee municipal campaign next spring—both sides claiming to represent the "rights of the people."

If this should be the case, we will suggest that they raffle out which side is to win and save the city the cost of an election.

India seems to be the land of cheap railway traveling. The returns of the East Indian railway show that in twelve months 18,500,000 passengers used the line, and that of these 17,000,000 traveled third or lowest class. The cost of carrying was one-eighth of a penny per mile, and the charge to the passenger was a little more than one farthing. Great as is

the difference between the cost of transit by this line and our parliamentary or even workers' rates, the comparison between incomes of the lowest class of passengers in India and Great Britain is still greater. The average monthly income of the former in shillings (25 cents) corresponds with the number of pounds (five dollars) earned by the latter in a like period.—Loada Globe.

And in China the wages are even lower than in India. That is the reason why Secretary Gage and his clique of plotters are in favor of the repeal of the Geary law prohibiting the importation of Chinese and Hindoo. Secretaries Gage ought to study the reports of the railroad earnings in India and China, and that alone ought to settle the matter.

The industrial crisis just now holding sway in Germany is terrible to contemplate. In Berlin alone there are 30,000 men out of work. It is hard to tell what will be the outcome. In Germany as in this country most of the wealth is tied up in the hands of a small class, while the vast majority is suffering the most abject and humiliating poverty. Besides under the present capitalist system where workmen cannot get the full value of their work—the employing class making a profit on it—such industrial crises (PANICS we call them in this country) are bound to appear in more or less regular intervals. And one of two things is bound to happen sooner or later in every civilized country. During some crisis the people will rise up in their madness and wipe the capitalist class literally off the face of the earth, abolish civilization and go back to barbarism. Or, the people will use sense and gradually vote capitalism out of existence and introduce the Socialist system, which will mean a higher and more just civilization.

which he is interested. And capitalists as a class control our entire production and the distribution thereof. And control means complete mastery in this case. The capitalist does not only control the factories, mines, railroads, telegraphs, telephones and steamship lines, but he is also master of the workmen that depend on employment and who are held in ignorance and subjection. The capitalist class has no use for workmen possessed of manhood, intelligence and independence. The capitalist class looks to profit and interest money. That and alone.

The following dispatch we find in a Milwaukee morning paper:

"Chicago, Ill., Nov. 22.—An old-fashioned pillory system of punishment which it is claimed has the sanction of the board of directors, of which Bishop Samuel Fallows is president, has been ascertained at the Pontiac (Ill.) state reformatory.

"The pillory is a door with two holes in the upper panel. Through these holes the prisoner puts his hands and a chain is attached to the wrists to keep them in place. The arms are thus extended on a level with the shoulder and can be moved in no direction because the holes in the door are not large enough to permit it.

"In this trying position Charles Miller, a 10-year-old boy, asserts he was forced to spend twenty hours at a stretch. He was taken down for ten minutes at noon, when bread and water were furnished him. Capt. Mallory of the reformatory is quoted as corroborating the statement. Young Miller's offense was whistling in school."

And we call this a civilized country. And we live in the Twentieth century. And Bishop Samuel Fallows is considered a great and good man and a reformer."

To him with such philanthropists!

Christ scourged the money-changers out of the temple—says the Bible. Now most of the temples are owned by the "money-changers," or they have at least a mortgage on them.

Any sensible man looking at the fight between our Republican governor, Robert La Follette, and the Republican party machine of this state, must become disgusted with capitalistic parties and capitalistic politicians for the rest of his life.

The street railway company is made the black beast of hatred in this city. Now, admitted that it is a trivial concern. That it will buy up our stores at a cheap price—thereby depressing the common council market for Chicago—and that Messrs. Payne and Pfister never have any scruples against taking the major into the bargain whenever they find such proceeding necessary for the welfare of the company. But admitting this, wherein is the railway company worse than the gaslight company or any other company or contractor that has dealings with the city? Why, even the justices and constables of our county cheat the county whenever and wherever they can, and they all act the same, without difference of party, nationality, religion or other previous condition of servitude. This is capitalism, and with the unwritten law. "Do the others, or the others will do you," what can you expect? A man needs backbone and the new ethics, the ethics of Socialism, to stand straight in this crowd.

"This dying for principle is all rot," said our worthy reform mayor, David S. Rose, at the Democratic national convention in Kansas City last year. Now let's see what Mayor Rose will die for next spring.

The Chinese exclusive convention, composed of 3000 delegates, representing the state and county governments and industrial and civic organizations in all parts of California, met in San Francisco last Friday and adopted the following resolution:

"First, we demand the continuance of existing treaties with China and the re-enactment of the Geary exclusion law."

"Second, we recommend that the California delegates in Congress act unitedly in the presentation of a bill to accomplish the purpose and use their utmost

We are not afraid of the Anarchists ever playing any other part in public life than that of shocking the people. And people soon grow weary of being shocked; the shock that is expected loses half its effect.

One thing is clear: Anarchism is impossible.

When you leave the domain of imagination and begin to walk among earthly things, the impossibility of Anarchism becomes obvious at once.

You will at once see commodities and possessions the uses of which are naturally within the region of dispute.

Where there is no law, no code of regulations, no tribunal of decision, most differences of opinion will have to be settled by force of arms. Under such circumstances the strongest, the most crafty and the most selfish will come out on top.

But the tendency of all teaching and of all true philosophy is to neutralize the selfishness of human beings; to substitute altruism for the egotism of the rule of brute force. It cannot be supposed that even in an anarchic community the selfish bully would be allowed to trample on his weaker and less assertive fellowmen. That is pretty certain.

Yet, whenever some self-appointed body, term them "vigilance committee," "regulators," or what you like, step forward to control the unruly, to curb the ill-behaved, to protect the feeble, from that moment "rule" is re-established.

Anarchy would therefore simply set aside elected or appointed government for self-selected or self-appointed control.

Now, rule is rule, no matter who the ruler may be.

And since even Anarchists seem to acknowledge that in thickly-populated, highly-civilized countries there must be some generally accepted rules for communal and territorial (using this term in a general sense) guidance—then even Anarchists must see that Anarchy is practically out of question in a civilized country.

which he is interested. And capitalists as a class control our entire production and the distribution thereof. And control means complete mastery in this case. The capitalist does not only control the factories, mines, railroads, telegraphs, telephones and steamship lines, but he is also master of the workmen that depend on employment and who are held in ignorance and subjection. The capitalist class has no use for workmen possessed of manhood, intelligence and independence. The capitalist class looks to profit and interest money. That and alone.

As a supplemental report the committee on resolutions presented a statement, which was adopted, recognizing the menace to the industrial conditions of the coast of the rapidly increasing number of Japanese and other Asiatic immigrants, and asking that the matter be referred to the executive committee with instructions to take such steps as may be necessary to secure all possible protection in the evils set forth.

And in our opinion the Socialists of California, and of the entire country for that matter, ought to support the movement. Otherwise the capitalists will not only reduce us all to the level of the Chinese within a short time, but some day we may have enough coolies and negroes to shoot us down, if we should revolt. When Marx said: "Proletarians of all countries unite!" he meant the proletariat of civilized countries, not of Shang-Hai and Timboocoo.

The following flowers of the capitalistic system are taken from a single column of a daily paper:

Trenton, N. J., Nov. 25.—John B. Harding, the 86-year-old suitor of his adopted daughter, aged 20 years, has officially announced that the wedding will occur Friday.

Mr. Harding took the young woman when she was a child only 9 years old, and she has lived with his family ever since. She has always called him grandfather. The old man has made the following statement:

"I have concluded to marry because of the fact that a certain individual who has completely stripped me of my property through his sharp practice, has made threats that he will attack my person in each quarter for debt, which I understand he can do if I remain single."

Binghamton, N. Y., Nov. 25.—Nelson Burr, an extensive property owner of this city, was ordered to take a bath and purchase a new suit of clothes by the board of health. He says he took the bath and he got the new clothes, but objects to wearing them, as he says his old ones are pretty good yet.

Burr lives alone in a large brick block, which is full of old furniture and oddities, including his coffin and grave-stone.

Newark, N. J., Nov. 25.—An old engine cylinder is the novel home of William Berkheimer, a machinist, whose age and reverses have brought him down in the world. Berkheimer has lived there for more than two months, supporting himself by doing odd jobs in the neighborhood. The cylinder is three feet wide and six feet long and during the cold nights of the past week the man has been obliged to lie cramped up on the cold iron with no covering but his clothing.

Let us analyze these cases with as few words as possible.

The 86-year-old man in Trenton married his adopted daughter of 26 in order to secure the meager pittance of a few paltry dollars a month. And the young woman evidently did not marry him because she was in love, but because she wanted to keep her home.

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MILWAUKEE, SATURDAY, NOV. 30, 1901.

HERALDRIES.

The alluring statement that "prosperity" has arrived is still going the rounds of the slush-pots of plutocracy.

When the average preacher drops theology and takes up economics, he generally manages to be on the side of the rich.

Charity-balls, charity-dinners, charity-contributions represent blood-money. The blood of the people is upon everything the charity dispensers eat, drink, wear and give.

The rich have always looked to governments to do something for them; to do something for them is what governments, up to the present, are for. The balance of us can DIG; if we stop digging we'll have to steal, and then government will do something for us. Queer, isn't it?

The principal business in life of a fool is to increase its evils by sticking to its superstitions. The greatest superstition is that a man who can do something useful can't live unless he works for a capitalist. And how the jaspers do stick to that!

The McKinley administration is going into the capitalist records as an era of unprecedented "prosperity." Yet during that administration and in Buffalo, the very city where the assassin's bullet wrought its deadly work, there were in one winter 3000 families fed by charity and, from 15,000 to 20,000 workers out of employment.

The Standard Oil infamy continues to pay enormous dividends and no week passes without the organization of kindred gaols of plunders; meanwhile

They, the poor, the poor! they stand wedged by the pressing of Trade's hand, against an onward-opening door. Tax pressure tightens evermore; They sign a monstrous, foul-at-sight for the outside leagues of liberty.

Joseph Leiter, son of his father, Levi, and brother-in-law of the British viceroy of India, with two or three other sports, gave a \$25-a-plate dinner the other night to a bunch of pretty chorus girls at New York. This is the young man whose father has paid debts for amounting to five millions. The family also belongs to the tax-dodging gang of Chicago.

On a voyage around the world I had opportunity of seeing savage life in all conceivable conditions of savage degradation, and in this experience of mine I found nothing more degrading, nothing so hopeless, nothing nearly so intolerably dull and miserable, as the life I had left behind in the East End of London. If the alternative were presented to me to choose the life of one of those people in the East End, or that of a savage, I would distinctly choose the latter.—Prof. T. H. Huxley.

We half suspect, that many of the great popular preachers' names will readily occur to you, are on the side of capitalists and against the working class, because they have been "put next" by their capitalist friends and have property interests to conserve. We know that some of the churches have so much property to manage that they have very little time to minister to souls—especially the souls of the poor. There are some sanctimonious souls in supliced anathemas that draw rent from human habitations they never keep in repair and occupied by the victims of a soulless commercialism which is carried on under the mask of piety.

Sam Jones of Toledo has discreetly quit calling himself Socialist. In a talk at Chicago the other day, he said:

"I was born into the Republican party, but I could not have told you why I was a Republican any more than any of you can tell why you are Republicans or Democrats. But now I am a man without a party, and as long as I live I never will have a party. Party politics cannot survive without fanning the flames of hatred. For a little while I was a Socialist, but some of my friends thought they had a patent on that name and got out an injunction against my calling myself such."

The trouble with Mr. Jones was that he never was really a Socialist. He was a Bryan Democrat and no stretch of the Socialist imagination could make of that sort of a man a Socialist.

Maurice Labori, the famous lawyer who defended Dreyfus, has been nominated for the Chamber of Deputies in the historic district of Fontainebleau. Labori is a Socialist and will probably be elected. He is regarded as the leading lawyer of France, and his entry into politics and open espousal of socialism has been one of the sensations of Europe.

Displacement of Labor.

The economic effects of the introduction and operation of machinery to a vast class of working people are disastrous in the extreme. For instance, in his first annual report, United States Labor Commissioner Wright refers to a manufacturer of agricultural implements in a Western state which reported that 600 employees were doing the work that without machinery would have required 2145, a displacement in one establishment alone of 1545. In a large Eastern boot and shoe manufacture it was found that 100 persons are able to do with machinery what required 500 to do before.

It is possible that, at the end of the year, he will make two or three million dollars. I may have exaggerated the possible number of workers for argument's sake, but I maintain that he could manage over one hundred.

Why doesn't he do it? Simply because he would be called an impostor if he did.

Well, will you tell me why a man should not be called an impostor who, being perhaps unable to weave an inch of silk properly himself, can employ ten thousand people who can and whom he pays two or three dollars a day for work which is worth five or six dollars, and which he sells at such a price; but he is not called an impostor, he is called a commercial genius.

"I long to see the masses raised intellectually," says a writer in the London Spectator, "but it is not to be done by raising them out of their class."

To send a youth into a university by the sinuses and bring him out by the wealthy sublimis is only to make pigs.

I long to see the day when the most respected men of a community will be the workers, when a man, however highly educated he may be, will be proud to work with his hands as well as with his brain.

I should like to see education so cheap that university men might be proud to be found cutting stones and laying bricks, and I hope the Scottish-American universities may tend that way.

When the educated commoner returns to his class, that class will be raised, and not till then, and being raised, will see through the fraud of modern society, and stand it no longer.—Max O'Rell.

under his supervision, that he even gives a finishing touch to every picture himself, that he advises every writer himself, supplying ideas of plots, denouements, etc., and that he finally signs all the pictures and all the novels.

Let us say that he will pay handsomely every artist or writer who works under him, at least one-half of what he receives.

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Some Effects Noticed.

The development of the principle of competition into the system which became both the exclusive basis and controlling power of industrial effort and relationship is the farthest reaching effect resulting from the introduction of machinery. For while the principle of competition has, perhaps, never been inoperative, and the development of its influence over industrial life and action fatigued the introduction of machinery, yet it did not become the all-controlling all-pervasive force throughout the whole industrial world until the invention and operation of machinery compelled men to struggle with each other for existence—town with town, trade with trade, nation with nation—as they never had before in times of peace or in civilized lands.

Competition, for instance, was undoubtedly felt in English agricultural interests in the Fourteenth century, but not until England had begun to compete with Flanders for the woolen trade of her own and other people, did English laboring life begin to feel its full force. For in the Fifteenth century, wool growing began to compete with agriculture for the use of the land, and flocks of sheep with villages of peasants, for its occupancy and livelihood.

But when machinery and the factory system supplanted the domestic industries, the force which had never been unfeared, the pressure of which had already developed into an international commercial competition, became nothing less than irresistibly revolutionary within every sphere of the nation's life.

The farmhouse manufacturer who, with his family and a few neighbors worked with his own hands to supply the well-known needs of a familiar neighboring population, lost not only his shop but the very title of his calling, when the market of his neighborhood expanded into the hitherto unknown market of the world. With the loss of the producer's personal knowledge of the personal needs of his small and clearly defined market, the lack of adjustment between supply and demand became more possible, frequent and serious, and "over-production" came to be a factor in the economic life of the people.—Graham Taylor.

A thoroughly enjoyable affair will be that arranged by the committee for December 8 at Babu Frei Turner ball.

Look Out for It!

The speaker then went on to show how and where crime originated, basing his statements with extracts from government reports of the several large countries of the world. He went into each point clearly and fully, and at the conclusion of his address was loudly applauded. The discussion which followed was contributed by E. H. Rooney, who brought forth many arguments to prove that the teaching of the public schools of the country is radically wrong, in as much as it does not include economics. Remarks were also made by Robert J. Miller and Edward A. Cornille.

Next Sunday evening Mr. W. A. Hayes, an attorney of this city, will be the speaker, his subject being "Changes in City Government." Related to the Working People."

To insure the success of the entertainment and hall, from a musical standpoint, Bach's hand has been engaged.

BOOK NOTICES.

WHAT ARE WE HERE FOR? By F. Dundas Todd. The Photo-Bencon Co., Chicago, publishers.

This is the work of a capable and virile mind set to the task of answering the interrogatory raised by the title of the book. This is done from a rational point of view and done in a way that will in the main be satisfactory to the Socialist.

The author treats his subject in twelve chapters, the most important of which are those on "Commerce," "Mortality" and "Humanity." He concedes that whatever man is on the earth for, he is doing, and doing every instant of his life.

A Krakatoa eruption changes the geography of a large locality in a single day; modern breeders of domestic animals accomplish changes in the lifetime of a single man that were once supposed to require thousands of years, and revolutions, changes of dynasties, overthrows of classes, etc., are seen to have been one important portion of social evolution.

Hence there is no necessary presumption of truth either for or against catastrophe in any field of knowledge.

In view of these facts, and that therefore "revolution" is but one of the steps in "evolution," it is as silly to contrast the two as to classify felines into the two great divisions of black cats and white.

The word "opportunist" is much more descriptive of the school which he wishes to call "Evolutionary" than any other that comes to my mind at this moment. But the fact is that up to the present time the position of this school has been so indefinite as to admit of no intelligible terminology.

A little further on in this same paragraph is seen another example of this very indefiniteness and unintelligibility.

Here he makes the terms "Utopian" and "utopian" serve as a means of distinguishing these two schools. But as a matter of fact the socialist whom he is attacking never availed the opportunity of being "Utopian," unless it was on some particular point and wholly apart from the generic use of the word.

The Utopian socialist in America today is the "Bellamyite," who is more apt to

THE OTHER SIDE.

By A. M. Simons.

The article by Comrade Ladoff on "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific," in the last number of The Herald is professedly written to remove confusion as to terminology. But if I have any understanding of the words and construction of the English language he has simply succeeded in producing what might be passed for a puzzle in terminology and logic.

After four paragraphs of warning as to the use of the words and terms of socialism, he says: "The article by Comrade Ladoff on 'Socialism, Utopian and Scientific' is truly 'confusion twice confounded' and becomes mere meaningless jargon."

Next we are given the very good definition of science as "a systematic collection of ascertained facts and explanation of facts." This is exactly what socialist—*a collection of ascertained facts concerning society and an explanation of these facts*." But this would not do at all, so a most "fearfully and wonderfully made" definition of socialism, a "philosophy of life, based on the principle of race-consciousness; or racism, a philosophy of self-consciousness or individualism" is given in order to describe something that could not come under the definition of science. Here we have a definition which contains at least one word and one phrase wholly new to economic thought if not to the language, and one phrase (self-consciousness) used in a sense wholly different from the idea which English-speaking and writing people have associated with it. A truly illuminating definition. All this inside the whole realm of confused sociological discussion: "In the United States, for instance, we have two distinctly defined currents of Socialism—the so-called Revolutionary or Orthodox current, and the Progressive or Evolutionary current." In this he at once assumes the whole point in discussion between the two schools by calling the one with which it appears he intends to class himself the "Evolutionary" school and thus at once assuming that the other school is not evolutionary. It is a fundamental rule, any scientific classification that it must at once be inclusive of the whole subject matter classified and that the various classes shall be mutually exclusive. Both of these rules are broken by Comrade Ladoff and I will at once agree with him that if this is his idea of scientific reasoning that his socialism at least is not scientific.

As to the above classification being deficient on the side of inexactness I shall have something to say later. I now wish to show that it is meaningless to mutual exclusiveness.

The terms evolution and revolution are in no sense mutually exclusive, much less antithetic. In every realm of science today revolution, or accelerated motion, is recognized as a natural and essential portion of evolution.

The old instance of the egg incubating through a long period and the hatched animal finally bursting through the shell in a few moments is still a case in point that remains to be explained away. Right here it might be worth while to digress for a few words on the presence of the "catastrophe theory" in science. At one time geologists explained the growth of the features of the earth by a series of gigantic prehistoric upheavals and transformations that created mountains and oceans in a moment. Biologists (in so far as that name is applied to those who studied organisms) taught that each species was especially and instantaneously created.

Historians saw only great battles, dynasties overthrown, nations destroyed and governments swept away by coup d'etat as constituting social development.

Then the pendulum swung to the other extreme and geologists denied the existence of catastrophes, biologists denied the possibility of sudden changes in the life of man, and confounding when viewed in the light of another sentence where he says: "Socialism is social engineering." Here then are at least three different ideas of the word socialism, less than two hundred words, all mutually exclusive and all more or less contradictory. I agree with Comrade Ladoff that there is indeed great need for greater exactness in the use of terms by socialists.

Next we are told that "in his economic theory Marx is more a follower of Kant than of Hegel." I am familiar with the "back to Kant" cry, but this is the first time I had chance to bear that Marx also was a Kantian. Is it the doctrine of "a priori cognition," the "transcendental dialectic" or the "estategorical imperative" of Kant that we are to look in Marx? Frankly, this phrase, like several in the "Passing of Capitalism," has very much the flavor of the "When I was walking down Pall Mall with the Duke" style of introducing a story. If the reader has never heard of Kant or Hegel he is greatly impressed by the erudition of the writer, but if he happens to have studied them, it may produce quite an opposite effect. The statement that Marx's "Capital" is mainly critical is one with which few students of Marx would agree. It is very much more analytical and constructive, and this fact is practically conceded so far as the analytical side is concerned in the next paragraph of Comrade Ladoff's article, which, as usual, is more or less contradictory of the previous one. Finally the sign about the revolutionists not daring to reason independently is quite gratifying in view of the fact that with the exception of some work by Bernstein, which is really quite insignificant in comparison with what some of others have done, practically all the digging into facts, elaboration of theory, and criticism of doctrine has been done by these same revolutionists.

A little further on in this same paragraph is seen another example of this very indefiniteness and unintelligibility.

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The Utopian socialist in America today is the "Bellamyite," who is more apt to

use the term "utopian" in a sense which all mystic and superstitious cults require.

The hearing was rather abruptly adjourned, and within a week the strikers got about everything they had asked from Hill, and the strike was declared off.

DEBS' LAST CARD.

Story of the Great Northern Strike and How It Was Won.

The New York Commercial gives an interesting reminiscence of James J. Hill, the railroad magnate, and Eugene V. Debs as follows:

"Most of us are inclined to look upon James J. Hill as a sort of Colossus in the railway and the wider business world—as a monsided man of many expeditions, a somebody whom it would be hard to "down" on almost any proposition that he might choose to set himself upon. But he has met his equal once, at least—so the story runs in here from Minneapolis.

"Some years ago when there was a series strike after another kept going out, thus

upsetting the railroad officials who got into trouble with their men and threw away the company's money. I thank you, Mr. Hill, for suggesting the Burlington's case.

"Did you ever think of that, Brother Hill? Now, it might transpire, if you still prolong this fight and thus waste your company's resources and destroy its business, that even you and your co-officials won't be able to get out of the smoke of battle clear away. Stockholders and bondholders have a way of firing out with their men and throw away the company's money. I thank you, Mr. Hill, for suggesting the Burlington's case.

"The hearing was rather abruptly adjourned, and within a week the strikers got about everything they had asked from Hill, and the strike was declared off.

Science Death to Superstition.

Mystics and religio-builders have been driven back step by step by the advance of science. They can no longer "split spirit" to prove their claim to messiahship, as did the ancient Asiatic prophets. They cannot attract worshippers to their temples by burning natural gas, as did the priests of Babel. Cutalepys as an evidence of prophetship is now outgrown, save at an occasional Methodist revival down South. Their ventriloquial powers which made the priests of Babel famous and wealthy would bring no returns to-day, even on the vaudeville stage. Comets, eclipses, earthquakes, thunder and lightning, have all lost their power to create the devout and credulous spirit which all mystical and superstitious cults require.

The sane and scientific study of psychological and psychical phenomena is discouraged and prevented today by the vast amount of quackery and superstition with which they have been connected.

The evil done by this mystical hucksterism is in proportion to the general enlightenment, and it can be greatly diminished if met by what Buckle has called "the voice of load and general ridicule."

As long as there are disbelievers there will be pretenders.

"He was grave, stubborn, noyedling, after he had stated his case briefly but clearly and forcibly—and then be listened with marked audience to all of Debs' arguments.

AN UNACCEPTED CHALLENGE.

Sent by Rev. Thos. McGrady to the Editor of the Catholic Columbian.

Sir: In all history there is no crime more dastard than that of "poisoning the wells," so that all who go down to drink thereof stumble back again along the paths with toxins of death burning in every tissue. You have taken advantage of a time when men's judgments are inflamed by passion to pollute the Berlin spring. Under the feverish title of "The Red Flag—Cult of Atheists and Infidels—Curse of Our Day," you adroitly incide Socialism with Nihilism and Anarchy. With a show of fairness, which masks an ignorance hypertrophied beyond the skill of the most clever mental surgery to cure, you write that "Socialism in its milder form simply desires that government touch the people harder than it does now in many of its public activities; it advocates a governmental control of railroads, telegraphs, etc., just as the postal service is now managed."

You assert, further, that "some Socialists are in favor of a reasonable and equal division of all wealth, so as to make each man own just as much as his neighbor." You do not know even the alphabet of Socialism. Wealth is the stored-up product of labor. It belongs only to the man who has honestly earned it. "You received your fortune by inheritance," says St. John Chrysostom, "so be it!" Therefore, you have not sinned personally, but how do you know that you may not be enjoying the fruits of theft and crime committed before you?" (In Epus. 1 ad Tim., 12.) Under Socialism millions would disappear by a process of elimination—not of division—but of destruction. The people would take over all the means of production and distribution. Governmental control and co-operative public ownership are as different from each other as darkness is from light. In Germany, for instance, there is governmental control of railroads and telegraphs, but the common people still pay the same taxes and continue to be "touched" on behalf of the many public activities.

Furthermore, you write that "a large number of Socialists are in favor of bringing about their aims by violence if need be—not having the patience to wait for the slow process of arousing the people by educating them up to such a point as to bring the end by legal means only." Here, again, you are per-sonating the wells of truth. Socialism, by its very nature, is opposed to war, pil-lage, and violence. It is here and there some doltish Socialist made sullen by poverty and pain, cries out for vengeance, his violence is no more to be attributed to Socialism than the savage cruelty of a Torquemada is to be imputed to Catholicism.

Following your article paragraph by paragraph, your next argument, in the very groundwork of things, is intentionally impossible. You state that "recently in Chicago—the Sunday after President McKinley was shot—at a large meeting of Socialists a resolution was introduced protesting against the popular notion that the Socialists and Anarchy are identical, and a motion to lay it on the table was carried by a large vote." Where was this big meeting held? who presided there? and from what source did you get your account of it? Doubtless, from the capitalist Associated Press. Suppose that the item has been like this: "Recently in Chicago—the Sunday after President McKinley was shot—at a large meeting of Catholics, a resolution was introduced protesting against the popular notion that Catholicism and Atheism are identical and a motion to lay it on the table was carried by a large vote." Would you not, at once, say that the report was antecedently incredible? And yet there is a strict parity here; for it is a popular notion in many parts of America that Catholics are not Christians.

Going on with your writing, you aver that "many of these men are avowed atheists," and you appeal for proof to J. L. Alden's criticism of Hall Caine's "The Eternal City." You forget that this sort of argument has, attached to its business-end, a patent, double-action recalcitrant mechanism which is likely to scatter your cerebral cortices about the neighboring landscape. Let me show you in what way it works, so that in future you may know how to keep a dignified distance from it.

Taking the hero of a novel as a type of any class, we can apply Mr. Alden's criticism to every profession. The scheming Cardinal Grandison and the intriguing Mgr. Berwick in Disraeli's "Lothair" might be cleverly whitewashed by saying that if Lord Benconsfield knew anything of Englishmen he would know that English prelates as well as English laymen are to a man saints and sages, in fact if not in word. This is a rule which will work both ways. The many prelates pilloried in Dante's "Inferno," the gay churchmen in Boccaccio's "Decameron," the friars of Dijon in Campbell's poems, and the wily ecclesiastics in Victor Hugo's novels, need more whitewashing away than Hall Caine's David Ross, etc. Boccaccio, Disraeli, Campbell and Victor Hugo, it may be remarked in passing, stand higher in the world of letters than the author of "The Deemster." Coming down to the contemporaries of Hall Caine, the rule of Mr. Alden's criticism will need stretching to a still greater tension when

THE MAN BEHIND THE PICK

There has been all kinds of gush about the man who is "behind the pick." And the man behind the pick—cannon has been toasted, wined and dined; there's the man behind the masket, and the man behind the fence; and the man behind his whiskers, and the man behind his rents; and the man behind the plow beam, and the man behind the hoe; and the man behind the ballot, and the man behind the dough; and the man behind the counter, and the man behind the hill; and the man behind the pestle, and the man behind the pill.

Up the rugged mountain side a thousand feet as takes his way, or as far into the darkness from the cheering light of day; he is shut out from the sunlight, is the gimmer of the tamps; he is cut off from the sweet air in the cold, raw and damp; he is not in his spontaneous position; he must take life in hand, for he works in ocean peril that but few are unaccustomed. But he does it sit in silence, and he seldom makes a klek. That is why I sing the praises of the man behind the pick.

He unlocks the bolted portals of the monasteries to the stored-up product of labor. It belongs only to the man who has honestly earned it. "You received your fortune by inheritance," says St. John Chrysostom, "so be it!" Therefore, you have not sinned personally, but how do you know that you may not be enjoying the fruits of theft and crime committed before you?" (In Epus. 1 ad Tim., 12.) Under Socialism millions would disappear by a process of elimination—not of division—but of destruction. The people would take over all the means of production and distribution. Governmental control and co-operative public ownership are as different from each other as darkness is from light.

—Colorado Springs Gazette.

Borrowing Expensive.

A man who was too economical to take a paper sent his little boy to borrow the copy taken by his neighbor. The boy hastened the boy ran over a \$1 stand of bees and in ten minutes looked like a watery summer squash. His cries reached his father, who ran to his assistance, and, failing to notice a barbed-wire fence, ran into that, breaking it down, cutting a handful of flesh from his anatomy and running a \$2 pair of pants. The old cow took advantage of the gap in the fence and got into the cornfield and killed herself, eating green corn clearing the racket the wire ran, up setting a four-gallon churn full of rich cream into a basket of kittens, drowning the whole flock, in the hurry she dropped a \$1 set of false teeth. The baby, too, crawled through the spilt milk into the parlor, running a \$2 carpet. During the excitement the oldest daughter ran away with the hired man, the dog broke up eleven setting hens, and the crows got out and devoured the tins on four shirt.

Moral: Save your money by spending it and substituting for the literal.

An Inverted Fable.

"Now," said the big buck deer to his sides, "I will show you a sight that you never saw before, and I am so proud of it that I feel like walking around on my hind legs all the rest of my life."

"Why," said the fawn, "it is a man, as I live."

"Yes," said the fawn's proud parent, dragging out the carcass from behind a tree; "and now, like a good little deer, run and get me my sharpest knife, while I skin him and prepare his head for a dining room ornament. And shall I tell you how your papa did such a brave deed? Listen, my son. This morning, in company with my faithful bloodhounds, I tracked the man through the forest, drove him into the lake, having first ascertained that he was unarmed, and then, as he was swimming about almost exhausted, I put forth in my canoe and shot him at leisure in a nice vital spot where it wouldn't show."

Moral: "But, Papa," said the fawn, "the man had no chance at all against your skill and science. I don't see anything brave to be proud of."

"But you will," said the big buck deer, "when you get to be as big as I am."

—New York Life.

Karl Burkli Dead.

From Switzerland the death is announced of Karl Burkli. He was born at Zurich on July 30, 1823. He was a tanner and when young went to work at Hamburg. He there became a convert to the ideas of Fourier and he disseminated them while working in Germany, in Austria and in France. In Paris, where he lived and worked for several years, he became very friendly with Victor Considerant, who was the representative of Fourierism. After 1848 he returned to Switzerland and carried on an active propaganda. He became in 1851 a member of the local body of the Canton of Zurich, and retained his seat till his death. In 1854 he went to Texas to the colony that Considerant had founded; it was a failure, and he underwent many hardships; he returned to Europe in 1861. It was he who started the agitation by which the people were given the right to initiate legislation, and he wrote much on proportional representation. He was an active member of the International and presided at the International Congress of 1893.

Crisis in British Coal Trade.

Comrade John Penny, national secretary of the Independent Labor party of England, in a letter to The Herald, writes on the crisis in the British coal trade as follows:

"There is ample evidence to show that the great boom in the coal trade is over. Prices are falling and the wages of the men are being reduced. To check this tendency the South Wales colliers have decided to restrict production by having an occasional holiday. This, of course, means reduced wages, but the argument is that they might as well play for nothing as work for nothing."

The South Wales coal owners are in a state of alarm, though what it is difficult to see. One would think that the restriction of output which treats them all alike would not interfere with the profits of any individual. However, at a special meeting they decided to resign holiday making to the uttermost. Their decision is to prosecute.

(1) The individual workmen or some of them.

(2) The men who signed the notices calling the colliers out for the holiday.

(3) The South Wales Miners' Federation and the Miners' Federation of Great Britain.

The third clause promises to be of vast importance. Prior to the decision in the Taff Vale case, the funds of the federations could not have been touched, but now that that historic verdict has come into being it is quite possible that the federations may be melted in heavy damages. At any rate, there is a prospect of litigation on a scale which will cause the lawyers to wear cheerful faces.

Should the federations be declared to be acting illegally with regard to the holidays, they may possibly put themselves right by tendering a month's notice to quit work and thus bring about a complete stoppage which may easily be more far-reaching than the great dispute of 1893. We can only express the hope that there will be no need to resort to such extreme measures.

December 8, at Bahn Frei Turner hall, entertainment and dance. Get your tickets.

SUBSCRIPTION BLANK.

Please find enclosed 50 cents, for which send THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD to my address for one year.

Name _____

Residence _____

City _____

State _____

SOCIALISM

UTOPIAN AND SCIENTIFIC.

By FREDERICK ENGELS.

The materialist conception of history starts from the proposition that the production of the means to support human life, and, next to production, the exchange of things produced, is the basis of all social structure; that in every society that has appeared in history, the manner in which wealth is distributed and society divided into classes or orders, is dependent upon what is produced, how it is produced, and how the products are exchanged. From this point of view the social causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought, not in man's brains, not in man's better insight into eternal truth and justice, but in changes in the modes of production and exchange. They are to be sought not in the philosophy, but in the economics of each particular epoch. The growing perception that existing social institutions are unreasonable and unjust, that reason has become unreason, and right wrong, is only proof that in the modes of production and exchange changes have silently taken place, with which the social order, adapted to earlier economic conditions, is no longer in keeping. From this it also follows that the means of getting rid of the incongruities that have been brought to light, must also be present in a more or less developed condition, within the changed modes of production themselves. These means are not to be invented by deduction from fundamental principles, but to be discovered in the stubborn facts of the existing system of production.

What is, then, the position of modern Socialism in this connection? The present structure of society—this is now pretty generally conceded—is the creation of the ruling class of today, of the bourgeoisie. The mode of production peculiar to the bourgeoisie, known, since Marx, as the capitalist mode of production, was incompatible with the feudal system, with the privileges it conferred upon individuals, entire social ranks and local corporations, as well as with the hereditary ties of the nobility which constituted the framework of its social organization. The bourgeoisie broke up the feudal system and built upon its ruins the capitalist order of society, the kingdom of free competition, of personal liberty, of the equality before the law, of all commodity owners, of all the rest of the capitalist property. Thereupon the capitalist mode of production developed in freedom. Since steam, machinery, and the making of machines by machinery transformed the older manufacture into modern industry, the productive forces evolved under the guidance of the bourgeoisie developed with a rapidity and in a degree unexampled before. But just as the older manufacture, in its time, and handicraft, becoming more developed under its influence, had come into collision with the feudal trammels of the guilds, so now modern industry, in its more complete development, comes into collision with the bounds within which the capitalist mode of production holds it confined. The new productive forces have already outgrown the capitalist mode of using them. And this conflict between productive forces and modes of production is not a conflict engendered in the mind of man, like that between original sin and divine justice; it exists, in fact, objectively, outside us, independently of the will and actions even of the men that have brought it on. Modern Socialism is nothing but the reflex, in thought, of this conflict in fact; its ideal reflection is the minds, first, of the class directly suffering under it, the working class.

Now, in what does this conflict consist? Before capitalist production, i. e., in the Middle Ages, the system of petty industry obtained generally, based upon the private property of the laborers in their means of production; in the country, the agriculture of the small peasant, freeman or serf; in the towns, the handicrafts organized in guilds. The instruments of labor—land, agricultural implements, the workshop, the tool—were the instruments of labor always appropriated to himself the product, although it was used by his own tools, by the labor of his own hands or of his family. There was no need for him to appropriate the new product. It belonged wholly to him, as master of course. His property in the product was, therefore, based upon his own labor. Even where external help was used, this was, as a rule, of little importance, and very generally was compensated by something other than wages. The apprentices and journeymen of the guilds worked less for board and wages than for education, in order that they might become master craftsmen themselves.

Then came the concentration of the means of production and of the producers in large workshops and manufactures, their transformation into actual socialized means of production and socialized producers. But the socialized producers and means of production were still treated, after this change, just as they had been before, i. e., as the means of production and the products of individuals. Hence, to the owner of the instruments of labor and himself appropriated the product, because, as a rule, it was his own product and the assistance of others was the exception. Now the owner of the instruments of labor always appropriated himself the product, although it was used by the instruments of production and of the capitalist mode of production. The new productive forces and means of production were still treated, after this change, just as they had been before, i. e., as the means of production and the products of individuals. Hence, to the owner of the instruments of labor and himself appropriated the product, because, as a rule, it was his own product and the assistance of others was the exception. Now the owner of the instruments of labor always appropriated himself the product, although it was used by the instruments of production and of the capitalist mode of production.

The production for the purpose of exchange, of commodities, was only in its infancy. Hence, exchange was restricted by the market narrow, the methods of production stable; there was local exclusiveness without local unity within the mark in the country, in the town, the guild. But with the extension of the production of commodities, and especially with the introduction of the capitalist mode of production, the laws of commodity production, hitherto latent, came into action more openly and with greater force. The old bonds were loosened, the old exclusive limits broken through, the producers were more and more turned into independent, isolated producers of commodities. It became apparent that the production of society at large was ruled by absence of plan, by accident, by anarchy; and this anarchy grew to greater height. But the chief means by aid of which the capitalist mode of production intensified this anarchy of anarchy, was only in its infancy. Hence, exchange was restricted by the market narrow, the methods of production stable; there was local exclusiveness without local unity within the mark in the country, in the town, the guild.

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This contradiction, which gives to the new mode of production its capitalist character, contains the germ of the whole of the social antagonisms of today. The great

struggle between the capitalist mode of production and the workers was the exception.

Now the owner of the instruments of labor always appropriated the product, although it was used by the instruments of production and of the capitalist mode of production.

The production of society at large was ruled by absence of plan, by accident, by anarchy; and this anarchy grew to greater height. But the chief means by aid of which the capitalist mode of production intensified this anarchy of anarchy, was only in its infancy.

It was the increasing organization of production, upon a social basis, in every individual productive establishment. By this, the old peaceful

and quiet life was ended, the production of individuals was turned into independent, isolated producers of commodities.

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SOCIALIST PARTY NEWS.

GENERAL NOTES.

John Spargo is on a lecturing tour in Canada.

Kansas Socialists will hold state convention at Parsons on November 23.

New Hampshire Socialists will hold state convention at Dover on November 28.

The Socialists of New Jersey have called state convention for January 1, 1901.

Comrade F. H. Seeds has been elected as Kentucky's representative on the national committee.

Rev. John Ellis has retired from the editorship of the Haverhill Clarion on account of trouble with his eyes and is succeeded by W. A. Kennedy.

The national committee is about to arrange a lecture tour for George E. Bigelow, through southern Indiana, southern Illinois, Missouri, eastern Kansas and Nebraska.

"Jim" Carey spoke before the Graduate club of Harvard university, and one student remarked to him that "capitalist political economy cannot withstand the logic of Socialism."

The national committee has decided to co-operate with the Virginia comrades in placing John J. Quanz, recent Socialist nominee for governor, in the field in that state, as state organizer.

The national committee has authorized George D. Herron to represent the Socialist party at the semi-annual conference of the International bureau, which is to take place at Paris during the Christmas holidays.

The national committee has issued charters to: Orlando, Fla.; Granite Falls, Minn.; Logan, Utah; Stillwater, Ok.; and the following places in Kansas: Pittsburg, Cherokee, Cerraville, Columbia, Oawego, Parsons, Garnett, McQuae, Gales, Fort Scott, Whitelaw, Garfield.

Whether the "party button" sent out by Kern & Co. is supposed to have as its main feature a row of teamsters or a view of the lake front at Chicago, it is unfit for the purpose for which it is intended. It is poorly designed, cheap in appearance and altogether unsuited for a party emblem. If we are to have a button, leave it to the national committee and put an artist on the job.

The annual ball and entertainment of the party will be given December 8. There is to be a fine musical programme.

WISCONSIN NOTES.

Eau Claire branch has moved into new headquarters and is arranging a lecture for Comrade McGrady.

A new branch has recently been organized at Manitowoc. An application has also been received for a charter from Balsam Lake.

H. J. Dunham delivered an address on Socialism, Anarchism and Individualism in Pacific at the last branch meeting.

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Latest Election News.

The Socialist party has obtained official standing in Hudson county, New Jersey.

The official count gives Comrade James Baxter, candidate for governor, 297 votes in Dubuque county, Iowa.

Newport, Kentucky, gives 437 votes for Socialism; Louisville, 80. At the latter place the vote of the S. L. P. increased.

Coming west New York Socialists will find ample cause for encouragement in Ohio, especially at Cincinnati, where the vote went up from 1170 to 3292, a gain of 3122.

The official returns from New York are not encouraging. The count has been completed in thirty-three of the thirty-four districts of Manhattan borough, showing a loss of sixteen votes since last fall's election. A year's work, supplemented by union, should certainly have resulted differently. The vote in a year ago was 5524; this year, 5508. However, there is after all ground for congratulation that the substantial vote of a year ago could not be unseated away by a "reform" movement. The Delemites lost heavily, from 4742 to 3792.

The official vote of the Socialist party in Ohio is announced as 7359 for the head of the ticket. One year ago at the state election the head of the ticket received 4835. This gives us an increase of 2524 votes. We did not get the official standing this time, but are very well satisfied with the work that has been done, and will go to work on the next campaign at once. Out of a total of 88 counties we have votes in all but five of them. With best wishes we are,

OHIO STATE COMMITTEE.

W. G. Critchlow, Secretary.

Make a note of it that the entertainment of the party on the 8th of December will be an attractive affair. Get tickets now.

NATIONAL SECRETARY'S REPORT.

National Secretary Greenhann's report for the month of October has been received. The balance on hand at the close of September was \$184.50. The amount received in October from state and local organizations and individuals in payment of national dues, donations (including \$50 from Milwaukee to apply on the party indebtedness) and the sale of printed supplies, was \$456.40. Expenditures for the month were \$413.35, leaving a cash balance on hand of \$227.55. State charters were issued to California, Indiana, Illinois, Massachusetts, Missouri, Oregon, Nebraska, New York and Texas.

You will find the programme for the entertainment on the 8th of December in this paper. Procure tickets at The Herald office.

STATE AND NATIONAL COMMITTEEMEN ELECTED.

The vote for state and national committeemen for Wisconsin is reported below. The first table relates to resident members of the state committee, the second to nonresident members and the third to national committeemen.

Comrade F. H. Seeds has been elected as Kentucky's representative on the national committee.

Rev. John Ellis has retired from the editorship of the Haverhill Clarion on account of trouble with his eyes and is succeeded by W. A. Kennedy.

The national committee is about to arrange a lecture tour for George E. Bigelow, through southern Indiana, southern Illinois, Missouri, eastern Kansas and Nebraska.

"Jim" Carey spoke before the Graduate club of Harvard university, and one student remarked to him that "capitalist political economy cannot withstand the logic of Socialism."

The national committee has decided to co-operate with the Virginia comrades in placing John J. Quanz, recent Socialist nominee for governor, in the field in that state, as state organizer.

The national committee has authorized George D. Herron to represent the Socialist party at the semi-annual conference of the International bureau, which is to take place at Paris during the Christmas holidays.

The national committee has issued charters to: Orlando, Fla.; Granite Falls, Minn.; Logan, Utah; Stillwater, Ok.; and the following places in Kansas: Pittsburg, Cherokee, Cerraville, Columbia, Oawego, Parsons, Garnett, McQuae, Gales, Fort Scott, Whitelaw, Garfield.

Whether the "party button" sent out by Kern & Co. is supposed to have as its main feature a row of teamsters or a view of the lake front at Chicago, it is unfit for the purpose for which it is intended. It is poorly designed, cheap in appearance and altogether unsuited for a party emblem. If we are to have a button, leave it to the national committee and put an artist on the job.

The annual ball and entertainment of the party will be given December 8. There is to be a fine musical programme.

WISCONSIN NOTES.

Eau Claire branch has moved into new headquarters and is arranging a lecture for Comrade McGrady.

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commanded that the council take a stand in relation to the building of warships by the government to the effect that the petition of the Lake council of San Francisco relative to the matter be amended so as to include all warships. The board also recommended that an alternate be elected to the American Federation convention, and that the salary of the delegates be fixed.

On motion the report was accepted and the recommendations concurred in.

Bro. N. Andersen, the business agent, made a very complete and detailed report of the work of the organization committee and the office. He stated that a room had been rented and fitted up for office purposes at 318 State street, and that a free registration bureau for the unemployed had been instituted. Regarding the building trades section, Bro. Andersen reported it in a very flourishing condition and continually gaining new members. Twelve building trades are already enrolled and everything points to a successful and prosperous section. It is the intention of the organization committee to strengthen and build up the Electrical Workers' union at once, to be followed by others. It was also stated that the plasterers would send delegates to the council in the immediate future and would thus become identified with the building trades section. Gimbel Bros. had been visited in relation to having their new building erected by union labor, and an encouraging reply was received.

Continuing his report, Bro. Andersen stated that since the office had been established quite a large amount of work had been done for a number of organizations. Regarding the complaint of the cooperers that the O'Neill Oil and Paint company was using non-union barrels, he reported that the company had been seen and agreed to use only union-made barrels.

Bro. Andersen took exception to the tactics employed by one R. E. McLean, alleged to be an organizer of the American Federation of Labor, and stated that the methods employed by Mr. McLean and the airing of his personal views had a tendency to hamper the good work of the council and the organization committee. He recommended that the executive board be authorized to communicate with the American Federation of Labor and explain the situation as it existed.

Complain had also been made by the Ladies' Straw and Felt Hat Workers regarding the excessive cost of labels, and it was recommended that this be brought to the attention of the American Federation of Labor.

The various sections were reported to hold regular meetings at the business office hereafter.

A communication from the publisher of the Union Signal (said to be a labor paper) had also been received, expressing approval of the idea of organizing sections and uniting the different crafts and extending an offer of co-operation in the movement.

On motion, the report was accepted, the recommendations concurred in, and the delegates instructed to report the matter to their respective organizations.

The grievance committee recommended that in future all organizations be requested to send in their complaints in writing, under seal. Concurred in.

Under reports of sections, the building trades' section reported substantial prog-

ress, and fussed that the business agent be instructed to enforce the letter and spirit of the contract on all brewery work.

The report was accepted.

The metal trades' section reported progress. In the amalgamation of the metal trades it was deemed expedient to enlist only skilled labor, and not admit the members of Federal Labor unions to start with. The unions mentioned as acceptable were the following: Iron mowers, brass mowers, coopers, potters, machinists and stonemasons. Socialism was also strongly recommended.

The report was accepted.

The label section reported that the broom-makers had recently secured as increase of 15 per cent in wages; that bogs shoeworkers' labels were being used, and that the label of the Journeyman Tailors' union was being abused in some quarters. Union men were requested to be on the lookout, and do all in their power to stop abuses.

The report was accepted.

A number of communications were received. One from Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Brass Workers' union, No. 141, desiring that the firm of Hoffmann & Billings remain on the union list until next regular meeting at least.

Another, purporting to be from the Canton (O.) Retail Liquor Dealers' association, favoring the National Cash Register company, was denied by other letters.

A communication from the Capmakers' union, calling on working men to look for the blue label of that craft, was also received and the delegates instructed to take notice.

The Coopers' union sent a communication, stating that the famous Gackenheimer Rye whisky was shipped in non-union barrels.

A delegation from Bay View lodge of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin workers, headed by Michael Kelly, was admitted, and told a harrowing tale of want, misery and wretchedness which existed among the true-blue union men at Bay View, owing to the strike. The men who broke the strike here were fiercely denounced by Mr. Kelly.

Comrade Eagee H. Rooney, a delegate from the Pattermakers' union, replied in an eloquent address, in which he pointed out the deplored condition of things when men had the choice of but one capitalist employer, and concluded by urging the Bay View people to stand with other union men in voting for the public ownership of the means of production and distribution. The council then voted \$25 to the Bay View lodge.

The compensation of the delegate to the American Federation of Labor was fixed at \$5 per day and railroad fare.

Comrade Eugene H. Rooney was then unanimously elected as alternate.

The Bartenders and Waiters' unions requested that the resolution, passed some time ago, which permits unions when given a function to employ their own men as bartenders or waiters if they work free of charge, be rescinded.

On motion the matter was referred to the miscellaneous section.

A number of propositions were submitted by various delegates, looking to the welfare of the council, and discussed at considerable length.

After some routine business the council adjourned.

VERITAS.

News of the Labor Movement Throughout the World.

The central labor body of Minneapolis is making war on the blacklist.

The United States industrial commission is now in full session in Washington framing its final report to Congress.

President Lynch of the International Typographical union issued twelve charters during the month of October.

Five hundred carpenters of Limerick, Ireland, have been imprisoned for combining and raising their wages.

Two companies of state troops were ordered out to quell a riot at Madisonville, Ky., between striking miners and non-union men.

The Belgian ministry of war has instructed its officers to stop the labor riots that are resulting from the campaign for universal suffrage.

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The switchmen

Resident Members.

BRANCHES.	32	28	47	24	5	51	43	12	20	18	29	19	1	9	8	4	11	17	39	38	16	23
F. Heath..	6	5	5	18	4	9	6	7	7	8	7	7	5	13	8	7	18	9	9	8	144	
F. O. Rebsfeld..	6	5	8	5	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	8	22	4	4	9	9	4	77		
H. C. Berger..	5	8	8	5	5	9	1	4	18	7	1	1	2	6	8	11	6	19	111	111		
Jon. Rummel..	6	1	2	8	3	8	8	8	17	7	1	1	1	3	1	8	8	8	22	22		
J. Doerfler..	6	5	8	8	3	8	8	8	17	7	1	1	1	2	4	4	9	8	78	78		
H. Tuttle..	5	8	14	8	9	9	2	17	7	5	9	6	22	8	14	19	8	9	8	182		
E. Ziegler..	5	4	9	2	5	6	4	2	1	9	5	2	2	15	9	11	11	85	85			
N. Anderson..	8	5	5	5	1	3	4	1	3	4	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	87	87		
J. Shehan..	6	2	4	4	4	4	4	1	1	1	11	1	5	19	8	8	8	8	76	76		
J. Hausman..	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	5	5	5	5	5	11	11		
G. Moerschel..	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	15	15	15	15	15	21	21		
J. Hunger..	9	4	8	4	8	5	6	6	6	6	8	8	1	19	9	8	11	107	107			
P. Brockhausen..	2	2	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	20	3	7	13	9	8	8	8	102	102		
R. Meister..	8	8	1	5	3	3	2	2	9	1	9	8	8	8	7	7	7	7	64	64		
B. Seidel..	8	9	3	8	4	4	1	1	9	8	8	8	8	11	19	19	19	13	101			
P. Siegel..	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	12			
C. A. Blodgett..	1	2	1	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	11	6	19	19	19	19	19	19	44			

Non-Resident Members.

	82	28	47	24	6	51	43	12	20	18	29	19	1	3	17	11	4	9	89	38	16	28	
R. O. Stoll.....	6	5	8	13	8	9	4	8	6	4	1	9	7	8	10	23	10	28	9	8	13	8	204
C. A. Born.....	6	5	8	7	7	17	10	8	9	0	8	10	23	9	14	9	13	8	186
A. Roecher.....	6	.....	18	.....	.....	1	.....	12	2	0	9	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7	.....	.....	.....	.....	56
N. Venner.....	6	4	2	9	1	5	8	1	1	17	10	99
A. Zander.....	5	.....	8	6	.....	7	.....	10	1	2	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	7	9	.....	.....	52
H. P. Hassinger.....	5	8	.....	6	0	2	8	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	19	.....	8	6	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	82
J. W. Born.....	8	1	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	17
Aug. Muhr.....	8	1	4	.....	2	8	1	4	8	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	.....	9	.....	.....	.....	56
C. Allinger.....	2	2	.....	5	.....	8	.....	1	.....	.....	19	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	34
B. G. Lindner.....	1	8	9	8	.....	8	7	9	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	8	.....	.....	47
H. J. Amman.....	10	.....	.....	.....	8	15	6	1	.....	7	8	.....	28	2	9	.....	.....	18	8	.....	110	
M. Biedinger.....	.....	8	.....	8	.....	1	.....	1	.....	0	8	.....	23	9	9	.....	8	8	8	.....	82	